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184

[673]

the other hand, fallen enemies are consumed by some of them on exceptional occasions. The accounts have it that this form of cannibalism does not by any means for religious reasons, but rather represents an act of revenge carried to its extreme; the enemy is degraded to the level of an animal and is consumed like an animal. I have never heard it said that relatives or members of the same kin group are killed and eaten; indeed, in the eyes of the Fang this would constitute an incredible crime. Far to the south, especially toward the southeast where the Pangwe have been fundamentally modified through mixture with neighboring tribes, anthropophagy may be somewhat more

[412] Fig. 91. Spearhead Knife for cutting up a Slain Person.

[177] frequent. It is most likely, in any case, that the practice /144/ /Fig. 91 appears here in the original text/ was taken over in the first place from the eastern border tribes, especially the Njem who are notorious in this respect.

262 Thus, meat is principally supplied by animals, and here the Pangwe does not even stop at the thick skin of the elephant; he finds almost everything edible. Among mammals, only the shrew, house rat, and the dwarf squirrel Sciurus pumilio Lecomte (mvūk-esān) *are not eaten. Also, the following are not eaten:* among reptiles, the chameleon, the lizard Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (ebōmebōkōl), and the Agama colonorum Daud. (ngōkō III); similarly, among amphibians, the toads Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mvūn IV) and Bufo latifrons Blgr. (dīān; plural, bīān, mīā), as well as the frog Rana mascareniensis D. and B. (nkyō I). The reasons why these animals are never eaten I shall discuss in conjunction with the general food prohibitions in Section 13 /Ed., Vol. II/.

557-578 Briault, an accurate observer of the Fang states that the death of a chief, or an old man, or a notable person, is suspect and demands a much more "minute" enquiry than in the case of men of the common people." "Whoever has privileges is envied, whoever exerts authority makes malcontents; many chiefs have died unexpectedly; many who were envied have not made old bones; this must be fairly common since it is confirmed by proverbs (2). . . ."

2. M. Briault, Sur les pistes de l'A.E.F. [On the Trails of French Equatorial Africa], 1948, pp. 37-38, 42-43.

One might say that "intentional death" threatens (threatened rather, for colonial affairs and peace have allowed some to grow rich and to be protected) those who in their own interest disregard the fundamental solidarity and leveling tendency.

631 [140] By this play of forces, more or less antagonistic and varying according to circumstances, Fang society is protected from any excessive concentration of power. This explains why, in spite of its conquering military nature, it has never allowed even a rudimentary feudal system to appear. Strictly controlled, power was organized only at the level of small units – a village or a group of villages, relatives or neighbors. It has only exceptionally (and precariously) gone beyond the frontiers of these groupings, and as the "associations" have barely been able to remedy this deficiency, Fang society shows an absolute lack of centralization, which was a contributing factor in its rapid deterioration during the colonial period.

642 In a social system which leaves plenty of room for opposing relationships, cases of judicial action and conciliation play an important part. The Fang have not only established a classification of offenses – nté, simple disagreement; ɛ́ɔ́m, serious dispute that might result in war; and mɛ́m, ritual infraction – and a gradation of punishments going up to holding a hostage (ɛ́dá), but have also conceived a judicial organization with